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The Truth

ABOUT ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE SOVIET UNION

BY

TOM O'CONNOR

As Printed in The Daily Compass

***Exposing the Fraud Perpetrated
on the American People***

PUBLISHED BY
THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF JEWISH WRITERS,
ARTISTS & SCIENTISTS

RECENTLY certain groups identified with pro-war elements perpetrated a fraud upon the American people. With the help of an important section of the press, these groups initiated a widespread campaign accusing the Soviet Union of having instituted an official policy of anti-Semitism

Described by a noted journalist, Tom O'Connor, "as absurd and perhaps in the long run as damaging as any fabrication since the 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion' " this fraud is one of a long series of anti-Soviet hoaxes which subsequent events have fully exposed.

This fabrication has no foundation in fact. On the contrary the facts in the case show that no great power has demonstrated a more consistent and effective friendship for the Jewish people than the Government of the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R. was the first government to outlaw anti-Jewish discrimination and to make anti-Semitism a criminal offense. The U.S.S.R. was the first government to recognize the Jews in the Soviet Union as a national entity by the establishment of the territory of BiroBidjan as an autonomous Jewish region. During World War II, the Soviet Union saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of Jewish men, women and children, decreeing priority of evacuation for these marked victims of Nazi-fascism. And again it was the Government of the U.S.S.R. which gave decisive support to Jewish aspirations for independent statehood in Palestine, both in the United Nations and outside of it by diplomatic recognition.

Because of the above, the Jewish people have come to look upon the Soviet Union as a friend. To destroy this friendly feeling and at the same time to give an impetus to the ruthless drive for a new war, the anti-democratic, pro-war forces fabricated the hoax of "Soviet anti-Semitism" in the hope of enlisting new recruits for their unholy crusade among the Jewish community. They wilfully injected the Jewish issue in the current drive for war, a war which will bring unprecedented suffering to all humanity, including the remnant of the Jewish people throughout the world.

American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and 'Scientists

Albert Einstein, Hon. President; B. Z. Goldberg,
President; Joseph Brainin, Chairman.

"When the Press is Free—All is Safe"

American newspaper publishers assemble in convention yearly, and tell each other, in monumental platitudes, about how a free and responsible press is the backbone of our Democracy, the protector of our liberties, the guardian of our welfare. That's a wonderful theory, I subscribe to it completely. So did Tom Jefferson: "When the press is free and every man is able to read, all is safe."

But Tom Jefferson wouldn't have to be around long in 1949 to discover that his statement needed some drastic qualifications. Sure, practically everyone is now able to read a newspaper, and practically everybody does—50 million copies a day. Trouble is, practically everybody reads in his newspaper a basketfull of stuff that just isn't so. And doesn't read in his newspaper, because it has been purposely left out, a great deal of vital information about what's going on at home and abroad.

By and large, the American press is "free" in the classic sense—free from governmental restraints and dictates—and that's all to the good. But it is distinctly unfree, by and large, from restraints and dictates that Jefferson could scarcely have foreseen.—Economic restraints, mainly, and economic dictates.

America needs a free and responsible press if our Democracy is to survive and grow. The material in this pamphlet—a series of articles by Tom O'Connor, reprinted from THE DAILY COMPASS—offers a case in point. The American press was "free" to print an extraordinary collection of "facts" about the alleged adoption of anti-Semitism as an official policy by the Soviet Union and other Communist-led countries.

As editor and publisher of THE COMPASS, I felt it was important to call the turn on the distortions which were running wild in so many major newspapers and magazines. I felt that the historic sufferings of the Jewish people must not be allowed to be twisted and distorted into a cold war weapon. I believe that our series of articles was effective and did play a major role in short-circuiting what had been designed as an electrifying propaganda campaign.

America cannot survive without a truly free and responsible press. THE DAILY COMPASS is FREE and RESPONSIBLE. We hope some of our colleagues will believe enough in Democracy to join with us.

Ted O. Thackrey
Editor and Publisher
THE DAILY COMPASS

THE TRUTH ABOUT ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE SOVIET UNION

An extraordinary anti-Semitic hoax, certainly as absurd and perhaps as damaging as any fabrication since the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion, is now running wild through the columns of the American press.

In a series of newspaper stories which began to creep into various newspapers and magazines early in 1949, and reached their culmination in a series of articles by Frederick Woltman in the World-Telegram, it has been "revealed" that anti-Semitism has become an official policy of the government of the Soviet Union.

The evidence in support of this "revelation," which will be examined in detail here, is self-refuting. The trickery and distortion with which the alleged proofs were presented write a new chapter in the history of irresponsible journalism.

The hoax was inspired and planted by the American Jewish Committee, a small, immensely wealthy and immensely powerful organization of the top economic segment of American Jewry.

Many responsible Jewish leaders—including some members of the executive committee of the American Jewish Committee—are aghast at the results of what was at first conceived to be a clever trick to alienate Americans from any sympathy with the U.S.S.R.

Feeds Jewbaiters

They are aghast simply because the hoax gives new material to the professional Jewbaiters and reinforces old anti-Semitic concepts latent in the minds of many Americans.

These reactions to the story among non-Jews have boomeranged to the American Jewish Committee:

1. "See, this proves the Jews are impossible to get along with anywhere. Even the Russians, who tried to give the Jews a break, finally found out that Hitler was right about them."

2. "The Jews are always whining about being persecuted. Whenever a Jew is criticized for anything at all, even in Russia, he claims it's anti-Semitism."

3. "You'd think the Jews would be grateful because the Russian Communists stopped pogroms and made anti-Semitism a crime. They just haven't any gratitude. They aren't satisfied unless you turn your whole country over to them."

These reactions, it must be emphasized, are not the reactions of intelligent non-Jews to the *facts*, but of unthinking persons, already preju-

diced to a greater or lesser degree, to the material which has been presented in the press.

The American Jewish Committee not only supplied a great deal of that material, directly or indirectly, but continues to endorse the manner in which it has been used.

Woltman's World-Telegram series began on May 16 with a five-column streamer across the top of Page 1:

"Moscow Hate Barrage Blasts Jews."

A five-column subhead read:

"Nazi-Like Anti-Semitism Perils Intellectuals; Denounces Israel."

The article began with the flat statement:

"Nazi-like attacks against Jews have become government policy in Soviet Russia."

In the sixth paragraph was this:

"The American Jewish Committee terms the campaign against Soviet Jews both 'violent' and 'official'."

They're Behind Him

A spokesman for the Committee later vouched to THE DAILY COMPASS for the authenticity of that statement, and added:

"We didn't supply Woltman with all the material he got. But we stand behind everything he quoted us as saying. The fact that our material was built up in the *Telly* doesn't bother us in the least. In fact, it pleases the heck out of us."

Although that is still the official position of the Committee, the attitude of a number of members of its executive committee is reflected much more precisely in an article in the March 17 issue of The Jewish Review, a New York weekly.

An editorial article in that issue noted that Romania had stopped emigration to Israel, and that the attitude of Eastern European countries generally toward Zionism had changed from one of active co-operation with Zionists for the establishment of Israel to criticism of Zionism and impeding of the work of Zionist organizations.

The article continued:

"These are facts which have to be faced by Zionists and Jews all over the world. But they are to be faced without bias, fanaticism and hysteria which is already gathering in certain quarters.

"The facts of the case are that the pro-Soviet governments have changed their policy toward Zionism (especially against one aspect of Zionism, emigration to Israel), but not to Israel and to Jews.

"The attempt which is already being made to present these restrictions as a new anti-Semitic movement by pro-Communist countries is as untrue as it is dangerous.

"The opposition to Zionism is not an isolated trend directed against Jews as such. . . . It is a political, one might say, a military measure, and any one who attempts to make of this an anti-Semitic issue is not serving the cause of the Jews or of humanity.

"It must be made clear to every Jew and non-Jew that anti-Zionism does not mean anti-Semitism; nor does it even mean anti-Israelism. Communism, even in its present militaristic mood of extremism and

despair, has no special quarrel with the Jews as had the Nazis.

"It does not single out Jews, or a section of Jews, as its special target. Those who are now trying to utilize the change to raise an hysteria about Communistic anti-Semitism are not only confusing the issue, but are doing the cause of the Jews and of Israel an incalculable harm.

"The morbid, masochistic desire on the part of some Jews to see anti-Semitism everywhere may lead to real anti-Semitism where there is none at present."

The charges of Soviet and Eastern European official anti-Semitism have been made chiefly in the New York Times, the New York Post Home News and Newsweek, besides the World-Telegram.

The great postwar hoax—the claim that anti-Semitism has become the state policy of Russia and her satellites—was introduced to the U. S. general public on March 31.

On that day Newsweek magazine hit the stands with a featured article by Edward Weintal, its "diplomatic correspondent," or State Dept. man. Newsweek gave it a special introduction:

"A widespread official anti-Semitic campaign clearly emerged for the first time last week as one of the chief reasons for the current Soviet 'cultural' offensive against Western 'decadence' and 'cosmopolitanism.'"

"The Moscow censorship has hitherto kept news of this development from reaching the outside world. Edward Weintal, Newsweek diplomatic correspondent, has obtained the following documented report."

Weintal's "documented report," however, did not declare that there was any 'widespread official anti-Semitic campaign' in the U.S.S.R. His thesis was quite different. All he set out to prove was declared in his opening sentence:

"A campaign to eliminate Jewish intellectuals from cultural life is now under way in the Soviet Union."

'Cosmopolitanism'

Weintal adduced the following evidence, or claims, to prove the thesis:

1. Of 50 intellectuals attacked in the Soviet press in two months for "cosmopolitanism," 49 are Jewish.

2. Jewish family names of writers with Russian pseudonyms were printed in parentheses when the writers were under attack. "This is unprecedented in a country where anti-Semitism is a criminal offense."

3. A Jewish publishing house has been closed and the only Soviet Yiddish-language daily suspended.

4. A number of (unnamed) Jewish intellectuals have been arrested.

5. The periodical Der Stern was suspended for "Jewish bourgeois nationalism."

6. A writer named Alexander Isbakh (Isak Bachrack) was castigated in a Moscow publication for exalting the Hebrew religion and propagating Zionism.

7. Anti-Semitism was ferocious in 19th century Czarist Russia. "Dislike of the Jews remained ingrained in the Russian character."

8. "Stalin himself appears to be sporadically anti-Semitic."
9. Many of the Communist leaders who opposed Stalin were Jews.

Still Criminal Offense

Nowhere in his article did Weintal say that official Soviet policy is anti-Semitic. In fact, he mentioned twice that anti-Semitism always has been and still is a criminal offense in the U.S.S.R. He even noted that "Western observers in Moscow hesitate to assume that the present campaign is deliberately designed to arouse . . . latent anti-Semitism."

The editors of Newsweek, however, showed no hesitation in assuming that all this added up to "a widespread official anti-Semitic campaign."

Some of Weintal's statements are indisputably true. It is established fact that many of the Communist leaders who opposed Stalin were Jews.

It is also an established fact that many of the Communist leaders who supported Stalin were Jews. Trotsky was a Jew. So is Lazar Kaganovich, one of Stalin's right-hand men, a Jew. What does it prove?

No support is offered for the statement that "Stalin himself appears to be sporadically anti-Semitic." There is, of course, considerable evidence to the contrary. One could scarcely find a stronger statement on the subject than this from a Stalin speech:

"National and racial chauvinism is a vestige of misanthropic customs, peculiar to the period of cannibalism. Anti-Semitism, as an extreme form of racial chauvinism, is the most dangerous vestige of cannibalism."

It is also indisputable that anti-Semitism was fostered by the Czarist government. To what extent "dislike of the Jews remained ingrained in the Russian character" is debatable, but it is not debatable that the Bolsheviks have tried to educate and legislate it out of the Russian character. Article 123 of the Soviet Constitution states unequivocally:

"Equality of rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law.

"Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or, conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law."

It is further indisputable that a number of Jewish writers, artists and intellectuals have been criticized most violently in the Soviet press for "cosmopolitanism" and "bourgeois nationalism."

The key question here, of course, is not whether the criticisms were justified, not whether "cosmopolitanism" and "bourgeois nationalism" are good things or bad; but whether the criticisms were aimed at *Jews as such*, and whether the evil acts or evil ideas attributed to some Jewish individuals were said to be characteristic of all Jews.

There are a number of Jews among the 11 leading Communists being tried in this country. No one would suggest that their prosecution was an example of an official government policy of anti-Semitism. Clearly, it is not necessarily anti-Semitism when some Jews are criticized or punished here for being anti-capitalist, and it is not necessarily anti-Semitism when

some Jews are criticized or punished in Soviet Russia for being anti-Communist.

The test is a simple one: are *all* Jews being attacked, or just *some* Jews?

The answer is incontrovertible. It is untrue that all Jewish intellectuals and artists are under attack in the Soviet Union. On the contrary it is the fact that many Jews are being highly praised and rewarded.

Newsweek printed its story of a "widespread official anti-Semitic campaign" in the issue of April 4. Pravda, in its issues of April 9 and 10, printed the names of several hundred winners of 1948 Stalin prizes for achievements in the arts and in technology. THE DAILY COMPASS has had those names transliterated by a competent Russian translator. Exactly 99 of them—77 in technology and 22 in arts—were unmistakably Jewish.

For example, Solomon Abramovich Kantor, a professor at the Kalinin Polytechnic Institute in Leningrad, won 100,000 rubles for work on "Theory and Construction of Steam Turbines." Lev Veniamovich Marmorshtein, chief engineer of the Hammer and Sickle Plant in Moscow, won 50,000 rubles for introducing the use of oxygen to intensify a metallurgical process. Samuel Yakovlevich Marshak won 50,000 rubles for a translation of Shakespeare's sonnets. Vulf Abramovich Rapoport won 100,000 rubles for filming "The Young Guard." Grigory Romanovich Ginzburg won 50,000 for excellence in piano concerts. Semen Shlemovich Kaplan won 50,000 rubles for his performance in the ballet. And so on.

Almost 20 per cent of the Stalin prize winners had Jewish names. Less than 2 per cent of the population of the U.S.S.R. is Jewish.

There is left of Weintal's argument one thing: the "unprecedented" parenthetical use of the Jewish family name alongside the pen name of writers under attack.

Except that it is not unprecedented at all. It is regular Soviet practice to print both the pen name and family name of authors when they are mentioned in connection with any official or state matter. This is true when they are being publicly bawled out. It is also true when they are being publicly praised.

In that same list of Stalin prize winners, printed in Pravda April 10, there were numerous examples. A 50,000 ruble prize went to "Boris Nikolaevich Polevoi (Kampov)" for a book of short stories. A like sum went to "Elizarii Yurevich Maltsev (Pupko)" for a novel. "Yakub Kolas (Konstantin Mikhailovich Mitskevich)" was awarded 50,000 rubles for a poem. And so on.

A month later, Newsweek was out with another set of "proofs" of Soviet anti-Semitism.

"Zhid" is a derogatory term for Jew in the Russian language, roughly equivalent to "kike." "Zhid" is also the transliteration into Russian of the last name of the French author Andre Gide, who was once highly approved in the Soviet Union but is now considered a leader of the anti-Soviet bloc.

This coincidence provided one of the weirdest episodes in the build-up of the thesis that the U.S.S.R. has suddenly decided that Hitler was

right and has embarked on a campaign of anti-Semitism. It began with the New York Times.

The Times started early in the year to run occasional articles by one Harry Schwartz, a professor at Syracuse University who purports to be an expert on Soviet affairs. Schwartz wrote pieces for the Times on the Soviet press campaign against "cosmopolitanism," emphasizing that many Jews were under attack but not specifically alleging anti-Semitism, and on recent Soviet criticisms of the government of Israel for subservience to "U. S. imperialism," hinting that these attacks were anti-Semitic but not saying so outright.

There was a plausible ring to Schwartz's stories, which were apparently based on first-hand research in source material. And to many who saw no essential anti-Semitism in political polemics against "cosmopolitanism," or in criticism of Zionism or the government of Israel, there was nevertheless what appeared to be indisputable proof of Soviet Jew-baiting in this paragraph of Schwartz's story in the Times of April 20:

"... Observers of the Soviet press have noted that the cartoon campaign against 'cosmopolitanism' in Krokodil, the lavishly illustrated Soviet humor publication, has been marked by the use of hooked noses on the figures used to represent 'cosmopolitanism.' One cartoon on the front page of Krokodil juxtaposes the name Lippmann—which is usually Jewish in the Soviet Union—with the word 'Zhid,' a derisive Russian term for Jews used by Russian-speaking anti-Semites."

The merit of this extraordinary piece of scholarly research can be judged from the Krokodil cartoons reprinted on page 12. One of the cartoons—drawn by a Jew, Boris Efeimov—caricatures "cosmopolitanists" as birds of prey with long predatory beaks, not as Jews with hooked noses.

The cover cartoon depicts an unpleasant figure (who has no similarity to Jewish stereotypes), carrying a suitcase on which appears the word "Zhid." But right before the "Zhid" is the word "Andre." Other names on the suitcase, besides that of Andre Gide, are Andre Malraux, Jean Paul Sartre, Somerset Maugham, D. Griffith and Lippmann: Griffith is presumably D. W. Griffith, anathematized in the U.S.S.R. for his anti-Negro film "The Birth of a Nation." Lippmann is presumably Walter Lippmann.

There is obviously no juxtaposition of "Zhid" and "Lippmann" except that Andre Gide's and Walter Lippmann's names were near each other on the suitcase.

The cartoon, is, if anything, intrinsic evidence that the campaign against "cosmopolitans" is not directed against Jews as such. The caption reads "Pitiful and unpleasant are the quiet skeptics, the abstract persons, the passportless vagabonds of the human race." An effort has been made in the Times, Post Home News, World-Telegram and News-week to show that the Russians use "passportless vagabond" and "homeless cosmopolitan" to sneer at Jews; but here the words describe an assortment of writers from various countries, all but one of whom are non-Jewish.

Six days later the Times carried a three-paragraph story at the bottom of its book page, admitting no error and indicating no regret, but merely stating: "It has been pointed out that the 'Zhid' as used in the

cartoon is the Russian transliteration for the last name of Andre Gide, French author, whose first name also appears in the cartoon."

Newsweek reprinted the Krokodil cartoon in its May 2 issue, under the headline: "Poison in Pen and Ink: The Soviet Anti-Semitic Campaign." It did not, however, make a point of the "Zhid."

Frederick Woltman, in his World-Telegram series, apparently felt the "Zhid" point was too neat to abandon. So he developed a new angle, in his May 18 article:

"In a blast at the 'cosmopolitan literary critics' the March 20 issue (of Krokodil) ran a full-page caricature of one, wearing a dagger in his belt and carrying an enormous poison pen. A name tag pasted on his suitcase read, 'Andre Zhid.' This presumably referred to Andre Gide, the French writer who is unpublished and virtually unknown in Russia.

"However, the 'Andre' was shaded and the 'Zhid' caught the eye. 'Zhid,' a favorite expression in pogrom literature of Czarist Russia, is familiar to all Russians. The translation is the viciously slanderous word 'kike'."

The reproduction of the cartoon on page 12, photographed from the original by THE DAILY COMPASS, shows no shading of the "Andre." It is as clear as the "Gide."

However, as reproduced in Newsweek May 2, the "Andre" was shaded almost to the point of obliteration, and the "Zhid" seemed to stand alone.

Whether this was Newsweek's accident or Newsweek's design cannot be established. Nor is it known whether Woltman, in presenting this particular absurdity, was just a knave, or also a fool.

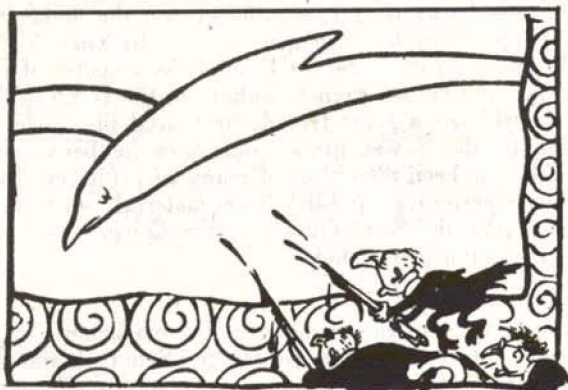
Unimportant in itself, but significant for the light it throws on Woltman's reliability, is his statement that Andre Gide is "unpublished and virtually unknown in the Soviet Union." As a matter of fact Gide has been one of the best-known French authors in the U.S.S.R. In the early 30s he was considered a great friend; he toured the Soviet Union with much fanfare in the Soviet press; and since he began to attack the Soviet Union he has been the object of reams of criticism. Not only have numerous Soviet periodicals published his material, but three volumes of his collected works and his "Travels in the Congo" were published in book form in Russian translation.

It is the technique of the newspapers and magazines perpetrating the hoax of "Soviet anti-Semitism" to equate anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism. The headlines charge that the Russians are persecuting Jews as a people; the stories under the headlines prove that the Russians are opposing Zionism as a political theory.

Whether the Russian attitude toward Zionism is right or wrong, good or evil, smart or stupid, is a matter of opinion. But to suggest that the attitude is motivated by bias against Jews as a people is sheer fraud.



THE CUT ON THE LEFT is reproduced from the original of the March 20 issue of Krokodil, Soviet satirical magazine. Arrow points to the name "Andre Zhid"—the Russian transliteration of Andre Gide, the French writer. Cut on the right is as it appeared in Newsweek. The "Andre" has been obliterated, and only the "Zhid" shows. "Zhid" is in Russian a derogatory term for Jew and to use it in speech or writing is a penal offense. The New York Times and World-Telegram as well as Newsweek have cited the appearance of "Zhid" in this cartoon as evidence of official Soviet anti-Semitism.



THIS IS ONE of the cartoons from Krokodil which Newsweek and others have called anti-Semitic. It depicts "cosmopolitan" literary critics attacking a gull, the symbol of the Soviet theater. The unpleasant birdlike figures, with their predatory beaks, have been familiar in Soviet cartoon and poster art for years. Josef Goebbels was usually so depicted. This was drawn by Boris Efeimov, a well known Soviet Jewish artist.

Much has been made, in Frederick Woltman's series in the World-Telegram and in Harry Schwartz's articles in the New York Times, of an alleged change in the Soviet line on Zionism signaled by an article in Pravda by Ilya Ehrenburg last Sept. 21. Sentences and phrases have been quoted from that article which, out of context, seem to imply racialism in the Soviet position on the political question of Zionism.

Let us accept the thesis that this article is one of vast importance, and, like the famed Duclos letter, lays down an official line for the Soviet Union, for her satellite nations, and for all Communists everywhere. Let us agree that this is the precise present statement of the Communist position on the Jewish question, and that everyone in the Soviet Union must conform to it.

The first thing to note in connection with the article is that its author, Ehrenburg, is a Jew. He is not in exile, or being persecuted, but on the contrary, is in high favor and writing important articles for the official Soviet press. This would seem to negate the claim that Jews are being eliminated from Soviet intellectual life just because they are Jews.

The second thing to note is that the article not only is not anti-Semitic, but is on the contrary a passionate and eloquent attack on anti-Semitism.

The article begins with a long quotation of a letter from a young German Jew, troubled by the resurgence of Nazism and anti-Semitism in the American zone of Germany. He writes to ask if perhaps Israel is not "the solution to the so-called Jewish question."

Ehrenburg's Reply

Ehrenburg, in reply, first states the Soviet position on Israel:

"The Soviet government was the first to recognize the new state, it protested energetically against the aggressors, and when the armies of Israel fought to defend their land from the Arab Legionnaires commanded by British officers, the sympathies of our people were all for the wronged, not for the wrong-doers. . . .

"The representatives of the Soviet Union in the United Nations have said that our people understand the feelings of the Jews who have experienced the greatest tragedy and have at last obtained the right to exist in their own land. Wishing the toilers of Israel success, Soviet people do not close their eyes to the trials in store for all honest people in the young state."

Ehrenburg goes on to declare that Israel is threatened "not only by King Abdullah's cutthroats" but by Anglo-American imperialism. He says that the government of Israel represents the bourgeoisie rather than the working class, and that the Israel bourgeoisie is no different from any other. He further declares that "although I believe in the future of Israel"

he does not believe that it holds the ultimate answer to "the Jewish question."

"I know," he says, "that the solution of the 'Jewish question' does not depend on military successes in Palestine but on the victory of socialism over capitalism, on the triumph of the lofty international principles inherent in the working class over nationalism, fascism and racism."

Then he discusses what "the Jewish question" is. Because an effort has been made to twist this into proof of official Soviet anti-Semitism, it is desirable to quote Ehrenburg's words at some length.

"Obscurantists," he writes, "have since long ago invented fables designed to represent the Jews as some peculiar creatures different from the people around them.

"Obscurantists have maintained that the Jews live a separate life of their own, that they do not share the joys and sorrows of the people among whom they live; obscurantists have asserted that the Jews have no sense of country, that they are eternal wanderers; obscurantists have affirmed that the Jews of various countries are a unit, held together by some mysterious ties.

"All these inventions found their extreme expression in Hitler's foul book, *Mein Kampf*, and were repeated by the SS-men who buried old Jews alive and flung Jewish infants down steep banks and into furnaces.

"Yes, the Jews kept to themselves and lived their own separate lives when they were compelled to do so. The ghetto was not invented by Jewish mystics, but by Catholic fanatics. In those times, when the eyes of people were blinded by the mist of religion, there were fanatics among the Jews just as there were fanatics among Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox Christians and Moslems. But as soon as the gates of the ghetto opened, as soon as the mist of the night of the Middle Ages began to lift, the Jews of various countries joined the general life of the nations . . .

"Jews live in different countries. Many of them live in lands in which their ancestors lived since time immemorial . . . Obscurantists say there exists some mystical bond between a Tunisian Jew and a Jew living in Chicago, who speaks American and thinks American. If there is any bond between them, it is anything but mystical; it is a bond created by anti-Semitism.

"If tomorrow a maniac appeared who proclaimed that all red-headed or snub-nosed people must be hounded and wiped out, we should see a natural solidarity of all red-headed or snub-nosed people.

Insults and Furnaces

"The appalling atrocities of the German fascists, their proclaimed policy of wholesale extermination of Jews, a policy which they put into effect in many countries, racial propaganda, insults followed by the furnaces of Maidanek—all that gave rise to a sense of a deep bond among the Jews of various countries. It was the solidarity of offended and indignant people. . . .

"Of course, there are nationalists and mystics among Jews. They produce the program of Zionism. But it is not they who have settled Palestine with Jews. Jews went to Palestine because of the ideologists of misanthropy, the votaries of racism, the anti-Semites who drove people from

their homes and made them migrate to distant lands in search—not of happiness so much as of the right to their human dignity.”

Ehrenburg goes on to describe the change in the position of Jews in Poland, Bulgaria and other Eastern European countries since the war, their full citizenship and participation in the life of the country under the new governments of Poland, Bulgaria, etc. He describes the anti-Semitism of Czarist Russia, and the integration of Jews into Soviet life after the revolution. He quotes Gorki, Lenin, Stalin in castigations of anti-Semitism.

“There is only one way to solve ‘the Jewish question.’ It is to abolish the ‘Jewish question.’”

Socialism, he says, is the only system which does that.

“We sympathize with the struggle of the toilers of Israel. They have the sympathies not only of the Soviet Jews, but of all Soviet people—there are no admirers of Glubb-Pasha in our country.

“But every Soviet citizen is aware that a state is judged not only by its national character, but by its social system as well. A citizen of a socialist country regards the people of any bourgeois country, and that means also the people of the State of Israel, as wanderers in a dark forest who have not yet found their way out.”

One need not agree with Ehrenburg that socialism is the answer to the Jewish question, nor that Israel would be better off with a socialist government, nor that Jews in Eastern European countries are better advised to stay there than to emigrate to Israel. Those are political questions.

But to read into this eloquent condemnation of all racism proof that the Soviet government has embarked on a new official campaign of anti-Semitism as the World-Telegram and other publications have done, borders on lunacy.

One of the main props of the theory that the Soviet Union has adopted a policy of anti-Semitism is the argument that Jewish religious and cultural life have “disintegrated” in the U.S.S.R.

This argument was stressed by the American Jewish Committee in its release to the press of a summary of a study of “Jews Behind the Iron Curtain.” It has been treated at length in the pamphlet “Soviet Russia and the Jews,” published by the American Jewish League Against Communism. It has been a major thesis of the articles by Frederick Woltman in the World-Telegram, which declare flatly that the Soviet government is pursuing a policy of “Nazi-like anti-Semitism.”

The exact extent to which Jewish religious, cultural and communal life have “disintegrated” in the Soviet Union and are disintegrating in Eastern European countries of the Soviet orbit is a matter of great controversy. The charges made by the American Jewish Committee and the World-Telegram would lead the casual reader to the conclusion that in the U.S.S.R. the synagogues have been closed and the Yiddish language forbidden. But the Israeli representative in Moscow recently spoke of the large crowds of Jews attending synagogue worship there; and Pravda of May 19 devotes considerable space to listing the current repertory of the Yiddish Art Theater.

Historic Position

It is no secret that the Communist Party is historically irreligious and anti-religious. Marx's dictum that "religion is the opium of the people" has not been discarded. The Communist philosophy is materialist and atheist. The Soviet state has always opposed Judaism, Mohammedanism, Lutheranism, Buddhism. The American Jewish Committee is no doubt justified in saying the Jewish religion "has come under the same Soviet anathema as all other religions."

This may be a very bad thing; but is it anti-Semitism?

Woltman declares that it is. After quoting the American Jewish Committee as saying "USSR Jews are now in an advanced stage of religious and cultural disintegration," he concludes from that:

"Thus, the motherland of Communism—held up to the world as the very model of racial equality, respecting the diverse nationalities within its borders—has put Russia's Jews beyond the pale."

Elsewhere he notes that "today, in true totalitarian kinship, the powers in the Kremlin plagiarize the Nazis," and that "The USSR's success in wiping out Zionism is matched only by the extermination of all things Jewish by Hitler's Germany."

A Jewish Report

In support of his assertion that "the motherland of Communism has put Russia's Jews beyond the pale," Woltman quotes B. Z. Goldberg, a columnist for *The Day*, a New York Yiddish-language newspaper. He says that "Probably no better authority could be found" than Goldberg, because the columnist is "himself a Soviet sympathizer."

Quite out of context, he selects these sentences from two newspaper columns written by Goldberg in 1946 during and after a six-months' trip to the U.S.S.R.:

"There are no Jewish districts in the cities and towns. There are no specifically Jewish occupations. There are no Jewish hospitals, no Jewish old folks' homes, no Jewish parties, no Jewish philanthropies, no Jewish educational institutions."

"There are a quarter of a million Jews in Moscow, and perhaps more, but it is difficult to reach them. The Jews have no special social sphere, special charitable organizations, clubs or those hundreds of other Jewish community societies which Jews of other countries have. Jewish education has virtually disappeared."

In a Nutshell

To paraphrase the argument:

1. Russia is anti-Semitic because she does not force Jews to live in ghettos, and the Jews choose not to live in ghettos, but on the contrary mix equally with all the population, without distinction as to race or religion.

2. Russia is anti-Semitic because she does not force Jews into certain occupations by eliminating them from others. On the contrary, all fields of endeavor are open to Jews, as much as to anyone else.

3. Russia is anti-Semitic because she does not bar Jews from participation with others in social activities, clubs, etc., and so the Jews have become integrated into the social, fraternal, political, educational and charitable institutions of the country as a whole.

The converse of this argument is that the freedom of the U. S. from any taint of anti-Semitism is proved by the fact that Jews are generally barred from the principal college fraternities, and so have organized Jewish fraternities of their own; that they are barred by restrictive covenants and other devices from living in many areas, and so have developed all-Jewish neighborhoods; that they cannot in many cases join country clubs or athletic clubs because they are Jews, so have organized their own country and athletic clubs.

Q. E. D.

Woltman's argument boils down to this simple proposition: it is anti-Semitic not to discriminate against Jews, but to treat them like all other citizens.

And, if one asserts that the greatest good for all Jews everywhere is to think of themselves as Jews, and that the greatest help in producing this feeling of universal kinship is discrimination and persecution, perhaps the argument can be tortured into the appearance of some validity.

But it is difficult to see how the Soviet approach and the Hitler approach were identical, as Woltman claims. He cannot have it both ways. Hitler forced the assimilated German Jew to wear a yellow star and live in a ghetto, and think of himself as an outcast because he was a Jew. Now it is complained that Stalin is just like Hitler, because the Jew in the Soviet Union is encouraged to think of himself as just another Soviet citizen, fully and equally integrated into the social, cultural, political and economic life of the country.

One wonders if the wealthy, highly-assimilated Americans of the American Jewish Committee are really willing to carry the campaign they have started—to prove Soviet Russia anti-Semitic—to its conclusion in logic, as Woltman has done.

To understand how it happened all of a sudden this spring that newspapers and magazines burst out with a spate of stories purporting to prove the existence of official anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, one must go back to a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee on May 10 and 11, 1947.

At that meeting a resolution was passed instructing the staff to "direct its efforts to combat the attempts of reactionary and Communistic-minded groups alike falsely and viciously to identify Jews and Communists."

The implementation of this directive became a major concern of the Committee. At a time when the State of Israel was struggling to be born, when the de-Nazification of Germany was clearly failing and anti-Semitism was resurgent, the Committee focused its attention and energies on combatting the public identification of Jews and Communists.

The identification is not a significant source of anti-Semitism, as studies conducted by the American Jewish Committee itself, as well as other organizations, show. For example, the Spring, 1949, issue of Public

Opinion Quarterly reports a study made in Denver by the University of Denver Opinion Research Center in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League. Fifty-eight per cent of those interviewed thought of Jews as "different" from other people in some way other than their religion. But of all the unfavorable stereotypes, the identification of Jews as radicals was least important. Whereas 12 per cent said Jews were 'clannish,' 11 per cent said they loved "money," 10 per cent said they were "dishonest," 9 per cent said they were "aggressive," only 1 per cent thought of them as being "reds, radicals, socialists, communists, atheists, un-American, disloyal."

Secret Memorandum

However, the special anxiety of the American Jewish Committee to dissociate Jews from Communism in the public mind, despite the infrequency of that association and its unimportance in relation to anti-Semitic prejudice, is understandable.

The Committee is composed of and speaks for the wealthiest and most conservative segment of American Jewry. Its president, Jacob Blaustein, is head of American Oil Co. (Amoco products). Its honorary president, Joseph Proskauer, who recently appeared as attorney for the Arabian-American Oil Co., was one of the founders of the Liberty League. At the same time its staff has in recent years become a haven for dissident radicals and ex-radicals, many of them closely associated with the Trotskyist wing of the anti-Communist left.

A secret memorandum, titled "Background Memorandum No. 2—The Communist Problem as It Affects American Jews," was distributed last April to members of the National Executive Committee of the AJC by Dr. John Slawson, executive vice-president. A copy of it is in the possession of the COMPASS. It notes that following the directive of May, 1947, there was "most careful deliberation" on how to implement it.

"Numerous procedures were suggested and rejected before a consensus was reached that the most constructive project we could undertake in this context would be an educational program designed to acquaint American Jews with the facts concerning Jews and Communism, and especially the realities of Jewish life in Communist countries.

"Underlying this recommendation was the conviction that the most effective method of dissociating Jews from Communism is for Jews to assert their opposition to Communism."

Emotional Conflict

The memorandum went on to note that although most American Jews were anti-Communist, "many have been influenced by the propaganda disseminated by American Communists to the effect that the Soviet regime has eradicated anti-Semitism and benefited Jews living under Communism. This has produced an emotional conflict, which makes many Jews, although antagonistic to Communism, diffident about speaking out against Communism.

"If the facts about the realities of Jewish life in Iron Curtain countries were more widely known to American Jews, it was believed that this conflict would disappear.

"No authoritative body of material on this subject being available, it became apparent that a comprehensive research project would be needed, and the Library of Jewish Information (an American Jewish Committee department) was asked to consider such a project."

Careful reading of the above makes it plain:

1. That the research project was not conceived as an impartial study, but as a means of collecting whatever material might be useful to propagandize against Soviet Russia and Communism among American Jews.

2. That it was recognized that there was "no authoritative body of material" proving the point desired to be proved. But the conclusions of the study to be made were assumed in advance.

3. That while the 1947 directive of the Executive Committee instructed the staff to combat the identification of Jews and Communists in the public mind, the staff had already remolded the directive into an order to combat pro-Russian or pro-Communist sympathies among American Jews.

Approved by Committee

The research project was approved by the lay advisory committee of the Library in February, 1948, and placed in charge of a subcommittee of three.

The members of that committee were Dr. Nathan Reich, head of the economics department at Hunter College; Dr. Salo Baron, chairman of the Library Committee of AJC, and Herbert Solow, an editor of *Fortune*.

Solow, like Whittaker Chambers a disillusioned ex-radical who found a spiritual and financial haven with the Luce publications, was a key figure in the selection of the staff to conduct the research project. Prior to the 1934 "purge" of Trotskyites by the Communist Party, he had been active in various "Communist front" organizations. Afterward he worked with Trotsky in Mexico, and was a frequent contributor of articles to publications representing the Trotskyist view among the various splinters and sects of the left.

His wide acquaintance among fanatically anti-Soviet writers and pamphleteers proved helpful in selecting a special staff to do the job the American Jewish Committee wanted done.

The principal "expert" hired was Dr. Solomon M. Schwartz, a former member of the Kerensky cabinet in Russia, who was expelled from that country in 1921, lived in Germany until 1933 and France until 1941, when he came to the U. S. He has devoted himself while here largely to writing for a Russian-language monthly, *Sotsialistichesky Vestnik*, which is published in the offices of the New Leader and constantly beats the drums for a preventive war with the Soviet Union.

Schwartz is one of the so-called "Forward Group," centered around the Jewish Daily Forward, the Jewish Labor Committee, the New Leader, and the Central Committee for Jewish Culture. Some of them are emigres who hope for a return to power in Russia if Stalin is overthrown in a war; some of them are old-line Social Democratic union leaders, like David Dubinsky, whose leadership has from time to time been threatened by the Communists; others are merely bitter and frustrated ex-Commun-

ists. All of them share a single obsession: to oppose, denounce and discredit the Soviet Union at every turn and in every breath.

Two others associated with this group got on the AJC payroll for this study: Dr. Bernard D. Weinryb, professor of social studies at Yeshiva University, and Will Herberg, educational director of the Dressmakers Local of Dubinsky's International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The other three of the six persons selected by Solow and his committee for employment on the project are less well-known. All three of them are anti-Communist emigres from Eastern Europe—Dr. A. R. L. Gurland from Russia, Joseph Gordon from Czechoslovakia, and Joseph Ofman from Poland.

Other Studies

Two other members of the "Forward Group" were not put on the AJC payroll but collaborated with Schwartz et al and simultaneously produced, under other titular sponsorship, similar "studies."

Emmanuel Pat, a former member of the Bund, the Jewish Socialist Labor party in pre-revolutionary Russia, produced the report on "Jews Behind the Iron Curtain" which was presented at the convention of the Jewish Labor Committee last Feb. 24 in Atlantic City, and subsequently published.

Gregor Aronson, another emigre of the "Forward Group" and collaborator with Schwartz, produced for the American Jewish League Against Communism a lengthy pamphlet, entitled "Soviet Russia and the Jews," which was distributed to newspapers in galley proof on May 18. The League is run by Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, who was ousted by his congregation in Yonkers in 1946 for indiscriminate red-baiting and has since become the darling of the Journal-American and the World-Telegram. On Schultz's sponsoring board are such names as George Sokolsky, Isaac Don Levine, Eugene Lyons, Morrie Ryskind and Rep. Abraham Multer (D.-Bklyn.). Aronson, a member of the Moscow Soviet in 1920, was arrested in 1921 and expelled from the U.S.S.R. in 1922. He came to the U. S. in 1940.

(It is interesting to note that Aronson, upon whom Frederick Woltman relied for much of the material upon which he based his World-Telegram series, accuses the Russians not of anti-Semitism but of "asemitism," which he defines as "characterized by indifference to the Jews and any matter in which they, as Jews, are involved." His pamphlet proves laboriously and conclusively that (a) the Nazis killed a lot of Jews in occupied Russia, (b) the Communists oppose Zionism, and (c) Stalin is an "assimilationist.")

Project Gets Under Way

With the motives, direction and staff as outlined above, the AJC's research project got under way in February, 1948. A year later, as it neared completion, the question arose as to what to do with it. The matter was taken up at the February, 1949, meeting of the Administrative Committee, top policy body, but put over until March.

On March 8 the Administrative Committee met at the Harmonie Club, with Victor S. Riesenfeld presiding. Jacob Blaustein, president, and Irving

M. Engel, chairman of the Executive Committee, were among the 25 members of the Administrative Committee present. The DAILY COMPASS has a copy of the minutes of that meeting.

Slawson, the executive director, reviewed the history of the project and the reasoning behind it, declaring that "segments of American Jewry have been misled into the belief that the U.S.S.R. and other Communist countries are free of anti-Semitism," that "this false impression" produces "a diffidence in denouncing this menace."

Professor Reich then outlined the subject matter of the studies, emphasizing that the monographs were in various stages of work and that this was an interim report.

"The members of the administrative committee," the minutes read, "followed Dr. Reich's report with keen interest, and it was evident that in their opinion the project was soundly conceived and, properly exploited, could have a most constructive effect. Several members agreed that publication be expedited."

Discussion ensued as to whether to put material out piecemeal or wait for completion.

"Mr. Gurfein (Murray I. Gurfein) emphasized that the important question was when and how to disseminate the facts collected by us. In order to give them widest coverage he suggested that we work with the Jewish Telegraphic Agency and through their news service in European capitals, which would make it possible for this material to be sent to the American public as spot news, sponsored by the press rather than the American Jewish Committee."

Plan of Strategy

This proposal that the material be "planted" with correspondents in Europe, to be sent out as their own independent reporting of spot news, was criticized on no ethical grounds; but Slawson was hesitant about endorsing it because the original objective was "not so much to bring the facts to the attention of the general public, as to educate the Jewish community." He thought "our own strategy should be so advised as to aim at American Jews rather than at Americans generally."

The matter of when, how and where to plant or publish the story was left in abeyance, for further recommendations to the steering committee. Subsequently a memorandum was sent out to all chapters notifying them that the subject of how to use this material would come up at the May meeting of the national executive committee, and that delegates to that committee should be instructed on chapter views.

But the staff ran away with the ball. The unofficial planting of the story had begun even before Mar. 8. Both the "experts" working on the study and some members of the AJC library staff were eagerly disseminating the information collected, and by the end of March it was finding its way into the New York Times and Newsweek, although in the guise of independent reporting of spot news and not as an AJC handout.

This process continued through April. On May 2 the AJC first came into the picture openly, sending out to all newspapers a six-page mimeographed release on the conclusions of its "intensive study of Jewish life in the Soviet Union and its satellite countries."

This release did not in so many words accuse the U.S.S.R. of an official policy of anti-Semitism. That was already being charged in the newspapers, with the spurious stories about anti-Semitic cartoons, etc., which have been discussed earlier in this study. The American Jewish Committee release devoted itself to proving the thesis that the "independent religious, cultural and communal activities" of all churches, including Greek Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, were being "suppressed" (although churches and synagogues were admittedly not being closed nor worship in them forbidden.)

The function of the AJC release was to lend an aura of respectability and authority to the then burgeoning hoax about Soviet anti-Semitism, without committing itself specifically to any of the more obvious untruths.

A Fait Accompli

At the National Executive Committee meeting, May 7 and 8, at which the whole matter was to be discussed and a decision on how to use the material reached, members were presented with a fait accompli. Some of them objected most strenuously. Dr. Slawson explained that some staff members had acted hastily and without authorization, but that the officials felt no harm had been done. The whole matter—placed on the agenda at the tail end of a two-day meeting—was quickly glossed over.

Subsequently American Jewish Committee staff members made further material available to Woltman (although refusing to permit *THE DAILY COMPASS* to inspect it) and provided him with the authorized quote used in his first article, that "the American Jewish Committee terms the campaign against Soviet Jews both 'violent' and 'official.'"

Since the publication of Woltman's articles and *THE DAILY COMPASS'* exposure of the hoax, there has been increasing dissatisfaction both among some staff people and among members of the National Executive Committee over the handling of the whole matter.

It is doubtful, however, that any action will be taken to dissociate the AJC from the hoax. The dominant ideology of the most influential staff members, as well as the dominant political attitude of the wealthiest and most powerful committee members, requires subordination of all other considerations to the advancement of the cold war against the Soviet Union.

Our Committee is dedicated to the furtherance of Jewish unity in America and throughout the world, to the eradication of anti-Semitism and to the advancement of Jewish culture. We stand uncompromisingly for a united struggle against fascism and for the establishment of the closest bonds of friendship between the United States and the Soviet Union and other democratic nations.

Albert Einstein — honorary president

B. Z. Goldberg — president

Joseph Brainin — chairman

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American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists & Scientists

103 Park Avenue, Suite 414

New York 17, N. Y.

The Editor's Creed....by Ted O. Thackrey

As Published in THE DAILY COMPASS, Volume 1, Number 1 on May 16, 1949

THE COMPASS is an independent newspaper. That is to say, the editor is responsible to the community and his conscience for the content of the newspaper, including the editorials. I wear no collar but my own.

THE COMPASS is no successor to, no child nor stepchild of any previous newspaper, although it shares the heritage of the many brave attempts to establish free and independent newspapers since this country was begun by men who believed in freedom, debate, and decision by citizens responsible to none but their fellows for their opinions and their conduct.

Since the word liberal has fallen into such disrepute through ill use and misappropriation it is probably fair to term THE COMPASS a radical newspaper: radical in the fashion of the crusading New York morning World, which sought the truth and printed what it could find of it without fear or favor.

This will not be a baiting newspaper. We will not indulge in baiting any person or any group, minority or majority.

The staff has been selected with care. Integrity and craftsmanship were our only guides. My associates are free to express their opinions and present the facts as they see them. I will express my opinions in the editorials and in signed articles. Contributors and staff members are under no compulsion and no pressure to agree, or to disagree.

I shall continue to take an active and vigorous interest in what seems to me the important issues of the day, from the standpoint of all of us who have so much at stake in the way the world is run, at home and away from home.

There are two stockholders, Mrs. Anita Blaine of Chicago and I.

I own control of the voting shares partly because I would not edit and publish THE COMPASS on other terms, and partly because Mrs. Blaine would not provide major financial backing on any terms except the complete independence of the newspaper and its editor from pressures, even from her.

We shall accept advertising, without expecting too much too soon, and provided the advertiser understands what he is buying: space in which to tell his story to our readers... and nothing more.

My policies have not changed since I left the editorship of the New York Post Home News by request of the owner and the directors, because I would not support the Atlantic Pact, nor permit it to be supported by that newspaper's editorials as long as I remained its editor.

I am opposed to this country's bipartisan foreign policy.

I am opposed to the overwhelming concentration of our national energies in building up our military forces at the expense of our civilian needs.

I am opposed to these things because I believe they mean less, rather than more, democracy for the world, and a great deal less of it here at home.

I believe they are steps toward war and away from One World in its best and most humane, as well as humane, sense.

I am opposed to alliances with dictatorships such as Franco's in Spain, Salazar's in Portugal, Chiang Kai-shek's in China, the monarchy in Greece, the military dictatorship in Turkey, the feudal kings of Arabia; all anti-democratic by their very nature.

I am distressed deeply over the resurgence of nationalistic feeling throughout the world, and particularly here at home.

I believe it is being deliberately encouraged and fostered by those who fear democracy, or would bend it to serve their special interests.

We now propose to remilitarize all Western Europe, meanwhile fastening the pattern of military control upon our own people as well, to solve the housing shortage by building barracks, the clothing problem by providing uniforms, the need for production of civilian goods by concentrating on the manufacture of arms under government contract. This means death, not the expansion of democracy.

I believe the United Nations has been immeasurably weakened, perhaps rendered useless, by a series of actions and failures which the present Administration and its political allies throughout the world would have you believe was exclusively the result of Russian veto abuse.

I, too, believe the veto has been used unwisely on occasion.

But the United Nations was wrecked when the United States stood supinely by and permitted Great Britain, her puppet feudal state Transjordan, and the feudal kingdoms of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Yemen to make aggressive war on the state of Israel, which had been created by resolution of the General Assembly, and which had to fight alone and unaided for freedom which should have been—and was in fact—guaranteed by the United States and the very nations which made war upon her.

I am fearful even now for the fate of Israel because of a continuation of that unholy alliance, which is imperialistic and feudal rather than democratic in spirit and in deed.

I deplore the decision to parcel out colonial dependencies of both the victor and the vanquished in the recent war against fascism, among nations who will seek to build a new imperialism from them.

The only way to have one world is to establish it.

The only way to peace is to build for it, and not against it.

Just as the only way to safeguard democracy is to practice it.

We are becoming a nation which fears debate; which would suppress opposing views rather than refute them, which would deny democracy to minority groups rather than eradicate the bigotry and prejudice which causes them; which speaks of civil rights and civil liberties, writes platforms into political parties espousing them, and permits those who neither practice nor believe in democracy to destroy them.

We shall raise our voices in controversy.

We shall support principle.

We shall make no effort to suppress the voices of our opponents, but we shall insist upon being heard in turn.

THE DAILY COMPASS

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